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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 NSC-10 DRC-01 /110 W

----- 075656

P R 121945Z SEP 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1553

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3278

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SETION 1 OF 2 USNATO 4288

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SEPTEMBER 12 COUNCIL DISCUSSION

SUMMARY: COUNCIL HAD EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON CONSTRAINTS AREA,
LINK BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS, LENGTH OF INITIAL
STAGE, AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS QUESTIONS. SEVER ALLIES URGED THAT NAC/
SPC REACH AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANCE AND STRATEGY BY THE END OF SEPTEMBER

.
AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD DREW ON STATE 179889 TO RESPOND TO TURKISH STATE-
MENT THAT CURRENT MBFR PROPOSALS FAIL TO TAKE TURKISH SECURITY CON-
CERNS INTO ACCOUNT. LUNS AND DE STAERCKE TOOK ISSUE WITH DUTCH GOVER-
MENT'S INTENTION TO MAKE STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT WHICH MIGHT REVEAL
ALLIANCE POSITION ON FIRST STAGE REDUCTIONS. COUNCIL AGREED TO BEGIN
CONSIDERATION NEXT WEEK OF PROCEDURES AND INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION

.
END SUMMARY.

1. SYG LUNS OPENED DISCUSSION BY IDENTIFYING FOUR MAJOR AREAS OF
DISAGREEMENT REMAINING BETWEEN ALLIES ON MBFR: CONSTRAINTS AREA,
APPLICATION OF STABLIZING MEASURES TO NON-U.S. NATO FORCES, LINK
BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND PHASES OF REDUCTION AND LENGTH OF INITIAL
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STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. LUNS URGED GOVERNMENTS TO MEK
EVERY EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON OUTSTANDING ISSUES BY SEPTEMBER
30 TARGET DATE. HE ALSO PROPOSED THAT THE COUNCIL BEGIN WORK NEXT
WEEK ON SECTION IV (PROCEDURES) AND V (INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION).

ALLIED POSITION AND NEGOTIATING STRATEGY

2. FRG. KRAPF BELIEVED THAT SPC AND MBFR WORKING GROUP HAD ACCOMPLISHED MUCH DURING THE SUMMER AND HAD MADE A GOOD ADVANCE TOWARDS CONSENSUS. SEVERAL ISSUES REMAIN, HOWEVER, AND AN INTENSIVE EFFORT BY GOVERNMENTS WILL BE REQUIRED TO FINISH BY THE END OF DEPTEMBER. THE FRG CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT ALLIED PROPOSALS BASED ON PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY REMAIN THE SUPREME REQUIREMENT OF THE ALLIES WORK ON MBFR. MBFR WOULD ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL IF UNDERTAKEN AS A COMMON MULTILATERAL EXERCISE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH AGREED ALLIED STRATEGY AND NON-PREJUDICIAL TO POSSIBLE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE PROGRAMS. KRAPF EXPRESSED SATISFACTION WITH PROGRESS TOWARDS AGREEMENT ON CHARACTER OF FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS, OVERALL REDUCTION LIMIT OF 10 PERCENT OF TOTAL NATO FORCES, AND ON NEGOTIATING STRATEGY.

3. ALLIES STILL HAVE NOT CLARIFIED, HOWEVER, THEIR HANDLING OF THE COMMON CEILING AND SECOND STATE LINKAGE PROBLEMS. IN FRG VIEW, IT IS EVIDENT THAT TO ACHIEVE THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT, A SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS WILL BE NECESSARY. IT SHOULD THEREFORE BE POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP A COMMON POSITION CALLING FOR AGREEMENT TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS INTO A SECOND PHASE. SECOND PHASE ON ALLIED SIDE SHOULD INCLUDE OTHER NATO FORCES, SINCE THE REDUCTION OF U.S. FORCES ONLY IN MBFR WOULD WEAKEN THE STRATEGIC CONCEPT OF NATO TO AN UNACCEPTABLE DEGREE. SINCE AGREEMENT TO A COMMON CEILING APPROACH WILL NOT BE EASY TO ACHIEVE, THE ALLIES SHOULD INCLUDE THIS PROPOSAL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN NEGOTIATIONS. ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMMON CEILING WILL REPRESENT AN IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD IMPROVED SECURITY IN EUROPE AT LOWER LEVELS.

4. ITY. CATALANO SAID THAT ITALY HAS NO DISAGREEMENT WITH U.S. PROPOSALS FOR NEGOTIATING STRATEGY AND WILL BE FLEXIBLE ON OTHER POINTS. NONETHELESS, ITALY ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AND PRESERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE FLANKS. COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE HANDLED SO AS NOT TO GIVE A SPECIAL STATUS TO ANY ZONE AND SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF
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THE FLANKS' COUNTRIES' CONCERNS.

5. U.K. PECK WARNED THAT IT WAS WRONG AND POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO TRY TO SPECIFY IN THE FIRST PHASE OF REDUCTIONS THE POSSIBLE CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PHASE. UK CAN ACCEPT THE 700,000 FIGURE FOR INTERNAL ALLIED USE. WHILE HE COULD NOT EXCLUDE ENTIRELY THE POSSIBILITY THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MIGHT NEED TO CITE THIS FIGURE, SINCE THIS WOULD ULTIMATELY DEPEND UPON THE TACTICAL SITUATION IN VIENNA, PECK HOPED THAT IT WOULD NOT BECOME NECESSARY. ON THE LENGTH OF INITIAL STATE, THE UK WAS NOT IN FAVOR OF SPECIFYING 2 TO 4 MONTHS. INASMUCH AS EXPERIENCE (E.G., AT HELSINKI AND VIENNA PREPARATORY TALKS) SHOWED DIFFICULTY IN MAKING SUCH PREDICTIONS. ON COLLATERAL CONSTRAINTS, PECK BELIEVED THAT THE

ALLIES SHOULD BE FREE TO RAISE INTRUSIVE MEASURES AND SHOULD NOT BE INHIBITED FROM DOING SO SIMPLY OUT OF CONCERN THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT NOT LIKE THEM.

6. TURKEY. ERALP SAID THAT THE REDEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET TANKS WITHDRAWN FROM CENTRAL EUROPE WAS A MATTER OF CONTINUING AND DEEP CONCERN TO ANKARA. HE WELCOMED EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AS LONG AS THE SECURITY OF OTHERS IN NOT ADVERSELY AFFECTED. THE ALLIANCE ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS PRINCIPLE, WHICH EVEN THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES RECOGNIZED IN VIENNA. NVEVER-THELESS, THE PROPOSALS PRESENTED THUS FAR IN NATO DO NOT GIVE SUFFICIENT ATTENTION TO THE FLANKS. HE NOTED THAT RECENT SHAPE ASSESSMENTS REFLECTED SIMILAR CONCERNS. ANKARA WILL CONTINUE TO BE RELUCTANT TO AGREE TO MBFR MODELS SWHICH DO NOT TAKE THESE CONCERNS FULL INTO ACCOUNT. GREEK PERMREP AGREED WITH WRALP, AND NORWEGIAN PERMREP INSISTED THAT A PARAGRAPH ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY APPEAR IN SECTION II OF MBFR REPORT.

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7. U.S. RUMSFELD ALSO ASKED THAT ALLIES MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A COMMON ALLIANCE APPROACH, PARTICULARLY ON THEIR BASIC POSITION AND NEGOTIATING STRATEGY, IN ORDER TO MEET SEPTEMBER 30 TARGET DATE. HE NOTED THAT THE AD HOC GROUP, WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL CONVENE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE IN OCTOBER, WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT ITS TASK OF PREPARING OPENING STATMENTS IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREED ALLIED POSITION. HE THEN DREW UPON ARGUMENTS CONTAINED IN STATE 179889 (NTOAL) TO RESPOND TO TURKISH STATEMENT THAT CURRENT PROPOSALS FAILED TO TAKE FLANK CONCERNS INTO ACCOUNT. HE ALSO DREW UPON STATE 179893 (NOTAL TO GIVE CURRENT U.S. THINKING ON SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS AND COMMON CEILING CONCEPT.

8. NETHERLANDS. BUWALDA DID NOT WISH TO UNDER ESTIMATE THE BASIC DIFFERENCES WHICH REMAIN BETWEEN THE ALLIES. ON THE CONSTRAINTS AREA, THE NETHERLANDS HAVE ALWAYS FAVORED EXTENSION OF THESE MEASURES TO HUNGARY AND ADJACENT AREAS OF USSR, AND THE SHAPE ASSESSMENT CONFIRMS THIS VIEW. THE HAGUE AGREES WITH THE FRG THAT THE EMPHASIS ON THE SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE ON NON-U.S. FORCES IN THE AREA, BUT IS CONCERNED THAT ANY EFFORT TO BE TOO SPECIFIC IN DEFINING THIS LINK COULD LEAD TO PREMATURE DEBATE AT VIENNA ON SECOND PHASE QUESTIONS. BUWALDA AGREED WITH UK
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WARNING AGAINST EARLY USE OF 700,000 FIGURE.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS ASPECTS

9. CANADIAN PERMREP MENZIES REPEATED THE CANADIAN INTEREST IN EARLY ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON GROUND RULES FOR INFORMING PUBLIC OPINION ON ALLIED MBFR POSITION. GOVERNMENT SPOKESMEN OF ALLIES HAD TO KNOW HOW TO RESPOND TO INQUIRIES FROM PARLIAMENTS AND THE PRESS. KRAPF SAID THAT ALLIES MUST BE ABLE TO PROVIDE ON AN AGREED BASIS AT LEAST THE MINIMUM ELEMENTS OF THEIR MBFR POSITIONS, OR ELSE THIS PROBLEM COULD BE "BEYOND THE CONTROL OF GOVERNMENTS." BUWALDA NOTED HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO MAKE STATEMENT IN BUDGET STATEMENT TO DUTCH PARLIAMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE A REFERENCE TO WHAT IT "EXPECTS" TO BE THE CHARACTER OF THE FIRST PHASE, I.E., THAT IT WOULD CONCERN ONLY U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES. LUNS AND DE STAERCCKE TOOK STRONG STAND AGAINST THE PUBLIC REVELATION OF ANY ELEMENT ON THE ALLIED MBFR POSITION, EVEN IF A GOVERNMENT WERE TO DESCRIBE SUCH A STATEMENT AS A PURELY NATIONAL VIEW, UNLESS THE ALLIES SPECIFICALLY AGREED TO DO SO. LUNS NOTED THAT SPC WAS SCHEDULED TO DISCUSS PUBLIC AFFAIRS QUESTION NEXT WEEK.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO04288
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730962/abqcecad.tel
Line Count: 201
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16-Aug-2001 by garlanwa>; APPROVED <24-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: SEPTEMBER 12 COUNCIL DISCUSSION
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005